x 113 5 53 ~~C-6-22~~ Syn. 8.56.78'

The hurt of Sedition, how grieuous it is to a common welth.

Set out by Sir Iohn Cheeke Knight. 1549.

And now newly perused and printed the. 14. of December. 1569.

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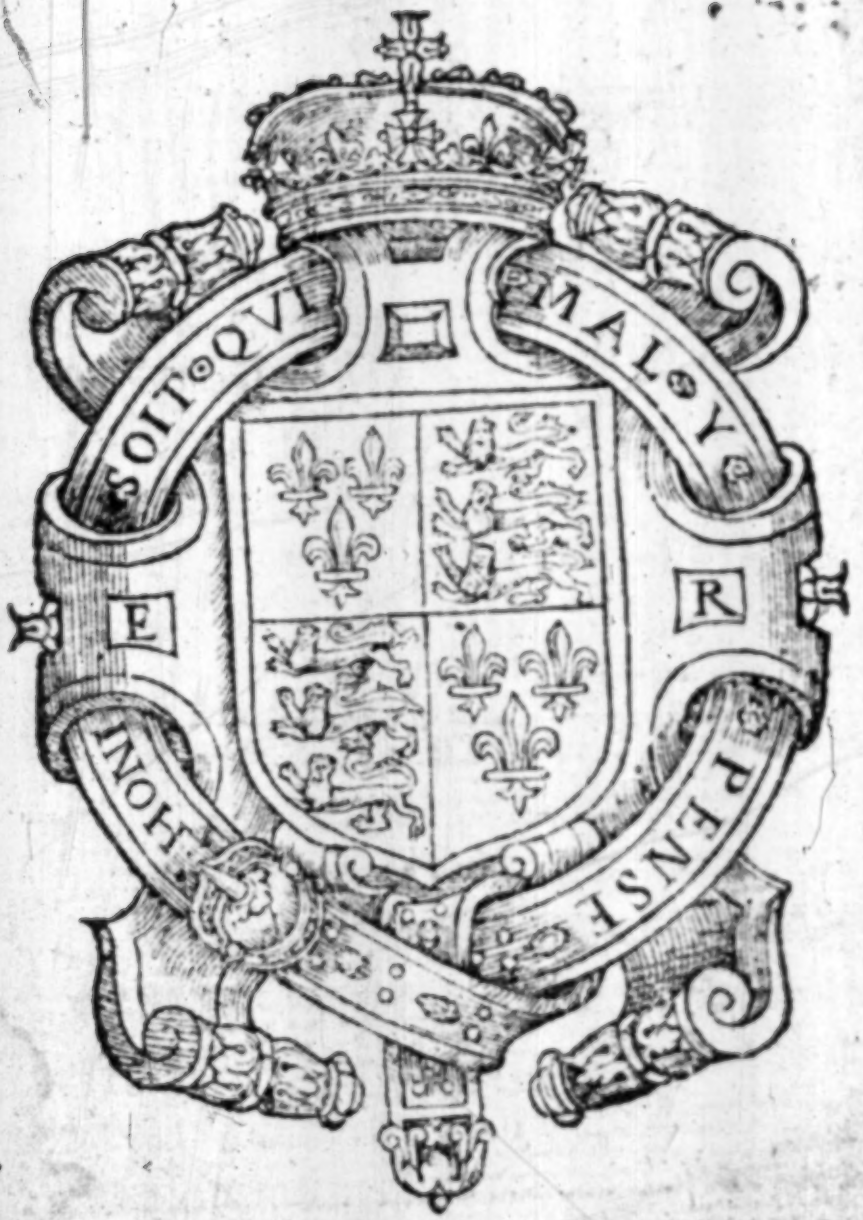

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¶ The true Subiect to the Rebell.

Among so many and notable benefites, wherewith GOD hath alreadie liberally and plentifullye endued vs, there is nothing more beneficiall, than that wee haue by hys grace, kept vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For wee see such miseries, hange ouer the whole state of common wealth, through the great misorder of your sedicion, that it maketh vs much to reioyce, that we haue bene neither parteners of your doings, nor conspirers of your counsayles. For euen as the Lacedemonians for the auoyding of Drunkennesse, did cause their sonnes to beholde their seruauntes when they were drunke, that by beholding their beastlynesse, they might auoide the like vice, euen so hath

God like a mercifull father, stayed vs from your wickednesse, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might iustly for offence abhorre you like Rebelles, whom else by nature we loue like Englishmen. And so for our selues we haue great cause to thanke God, by whose religion and holy word daily taught vs, we learne not only to feare him truly, but also to obey our King faithfully, and to serue in our owne vocation like subiectes honestly. And as for you we haue surely iust cause to lament you as brethren, and yet iuster cause to rise against you as enimies, and most iust cause to ouerthrowe you as Rebelles. For what hurt could be done either to vs priuately, or to the whole common welth generally, that is now with mischiefe so brought in by you, that euen as we see nowe the flame of your rage, so shall we necessarily bee consumed hereafter with the miserie of the same. Wherefore consider your selues with some light of vnderstanding, and marke this grieuous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus bily committed, how haynous it must néedes appeare to you, if yée will reasonably consi-

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der that, which for my duties sake and my whole Countries cause, I will at this present declare vnto you.

Ye which be bound by Gods word, not to obey for feare like men pleasers, but for conscience sake like Christians, haue contrarie to Gods holy will, whose offence is euerlasting death, and contrarie to the godly order of quietnesse, set out to vs in the Kinges Maiesties lawes, the breach whereof is not vnknowne to you, taken in hande vncalled of God, vnsent by men, vnfit by reason, to cast away your bounden duties of obedience, and to put on you against the Magistrates, Gods office committed to the Magistrates, for the reformation of your pretensed iniuries.

In the which doing ye haue first faulted grieuously against God, next offended vnnaturally our Soueraigne Lorde, thirdly troubled miserably the whole common welth, vndone cruelly manye an honest man, and brought in an vtter miserie both to vs the Kinges subiectes, and to your selues being false Rebelles: and yet ye pretend that partly for Gods cause, and partlye for the common

welthes sake, ye doe arise, when as your selues cannot denie, but ye that seeke in word Gods cause, doe breake in deede Gods commaundement, and ye that seeke the common welth, haue destroied the common welth, and so ye marre that ye would make, and breake that ye woulde amende, bicause ye neither seeke any thing rightly, nor woulde amende any thing orderly.

He that faulteth, faulteth against Gods ordinaunce, who hath forbidden all faultes, and therefore ought againe to be punished by Gods ordinaunce, who is the reformer of faultes. For he sayeth, leaue the punishment to mee, and I will reuenge them. But the Magistrate is the ordinance of God, appointed by him with the sworde of punishment, to loke streightly to all euill doers. And therefore that that is done by the Magistrate, is done by the ordinaunce of God, whome the scripture oftentimes doth call God, bicause he hath the execution of Gods office. Howe then doe you take in hand to reforme? Be ye Kings? By what authoritie? or by what succession? Be ye the Kings officers? By what com-

commission? Be ye called of God? By what tokens declare ye that? Gods word teacheth vs, that no man should take in hande any office, but he that is called of God lyke Aaron. What voyces I pray you called you? What Gods minister bade you rise?

Ye rise for religion. What religion taught you that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye ought to flie, so Christ teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If ye would stand in the truth, ye ought to suffer like martyrs, & you would slay like tyrants. Thus for religion ye kéepe no religion, and neither will follow the counsaile of Christ, nor the constancie of martyrs. Why rise ye for religion? Haue ye any thing contrarie to Gods booke? Yea haue ye not all things agreable to Gods worde? But the newe is different from the olde, and therfore ye will haue the olde. If ye measure the olde by truth, ye haue the oldest: if ye measure the old by fansy, then it is hard, bicause mens fansies chaungeth, to giue that is olde. Ye will haue the olde still. Will ye haue any older than that as Christ left, and his Apostles taught, and the first Church after

ter Christ did vse? Yee will haue that the Canons doe establish. Why that is a great deale yonger than that ye haue, of later time, and newlyer inuented. Yet that is it that ye desire. Why then ye desire not the oldest. And doe you preferre the Bishops of Rome afore Christ, mens inuention afore Gods law, the newer sort of worship before the older? Ye seeke no religion, ye be deceyued, ye seeke traditions. They that teach you blinde you, that so instruct you deceiue you. If ye seeke what the old doctors say, yet loke what Christ the oldest of all sayth. For he sayth before Abraham was made I am. If ye seeke the truest way, he is the verie truth, if yee seeke the readiest way, he is the verie waye, if ye seeke euerlasting life, hee is the verie life. What other religion woulde ye haue now, than his religion?

You would haue the Bibles in againe. It is no marueyle, your blinde guides woulde leade you blinde still. Why be ye Howlets and Backes, that ye can not loke on the light? Christ sayth to euerye one, search ye the Scriptures, for they beare witnesse of Christ.

Christ. You say pull in the Scriptures, for we will haue no knowledge of Christ. The Apostles of Christ will vs to be so readye, that we may be able to giue euerye man an account of our faith. Ye will vs not once to reade the Scriptures, for feare of knowing of our fayth. Saint Paule prayeth that euerye man may increase in knowledge, ye desire that oure knowledge might decaye againe. A true religion ye seeke belike, and worthy to be fought for. For without the swoorde in deede nothing can helpe it, neither Christ, nor truth, nor age can maintaine it. But why should ye not like that which Gods word establisheth, the primatiue Church hath authorised, the greatest learned men of this Realme hath drawen, the whole consent of the Parliament hath confirmed, the Kinges Maiestie hath set forth? Is it not truely set out? Can ye deuise any truer, than Christes Apostles vsed? Ye thinke it is not learnedlye done. Dare ye Commons take vppon you more learning, than the chosen Bishops and Clarkes of this Realme haue? Thinke ye follie in it? Ye were wont to iudge your Par-

liament wisest, and nowe will ye sodeinlye excell them in wisedome? Or can ye thinke it lacketh authoritie, which the Kinge, the Parliament, the learned, the wise, haue iustly approued? Learne, learne, to know this one point of religion, that God will be worshipped as he hath prescribed, and not as wee haue deuised, and that his will is wholy in his scriptures, which be full of Gods spirite, and profitable to teach the truth, to reproue lyes, to amende faultes, to bring one vp in righteousnesse, that he that is a gods man may be perfite and ready to all good workes. What can be more required to serue God withall? And thus much for religion Rebelles.

The other rable of Norfolke Rebelles, ye pretend a common welth. How amend ye it, by killing of Gentlemen, by spoyling of Gentlemen, by imprisoning of Gentlemē? A marueylous tamed common welth. Why should ye thus hate them, for their riches, or for their rule? Rule they neuer toke so much in hand, as ye do nowe. They neuer resisted the King, neuer withstode his counsaile, be faithfull at this day, when ye be faithlesse, not only to the King,

King, whose subiectes ye be, but also to your Lords whose tenauntes ye be. Is this your true duty, in some of homage; in most of fealtie, in all of allegeance, to leaue your duties, go backe from your promises, fall from your faith, and contrarye to lawe and truth, to make vnlawfull assemblies, vngodly companies, wicked and detestable campes, to disobey your betters, and to obey your tanners, to chaunge your obedience from a King to a Ket, to submit your selues to Traytours, and breake your fayth to your true Kinge and Lordes? They rule but by law, if otherwyse: the Lawe, the Counsaile, the King, taketh alwaye their rule. Ye haue orderly sought no redresse, but ye haue in time found it. In countries some must rule, some must obey, euery man may not beare lyke stroke, for euerye man is not lyke wise. And they that haue sene most, and be best able to beare it, & of iust dealing beside, be most fit to rule. It is an other matter to vnderstand a mans owne griefe, and to knowe the common welthes sore, and therefore not they that knowe their owne case, as euery man doth, but they

that vnderstande the common welthes state, ought to haue in countries, the preferrement of ruling. If ye felt the paine that is ioyned with gouernance, as ye see and lyke the honor, ye would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If ye had rule of the Kings Maiestie committed vnto you, it were well done ye had ruled the Gentlemen, but now ye haue it not, and cannot beare their rule, it is to thinke the kings Maiestie solishe and vniust, that hath giuen certaine rule to them. And seing by the scripture, ye ought not to speake euill of any Magistrate of the people, why do ye not onely speake euill of them, whome the Kinges Maiestie hath put in office, but also iudge euill of the king himselfe, and thus seditiously in fielde, stande with your swordes drawne against him.

If riches offende you, bicause ye woulde haue the lyke, then thinke that to bee no common welth, but enuye to the common welth. Enuye it is to appayre another mans estate, without the amendement of your owne. And to haue no Gentlemen, bi-

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cause ye be none your selues, is to bringe downe an estate, and to mend none. Would ye haue all alike riche? That is the ouerthrowe of labour, and vtter decay of worke in this Realme. For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the vyle shall by lust without right, take what him lust from him, vnder pretence of equalitie with him. This is the bringing in of vylenesse, which destroyeth the common welth, and not the amendement of labour, that maintaineth the common welth. If there shoulde be such equalitie, then ye take all hope alway from yours, to come to any better estate than you nowe leaue them. And as many meane mens children commeth honestly vp, and is great succour to all their stocke, so shoulde none be hereafter holpen by you, but bicause ye seeke equalitie whereby all can not be riche, ye woulde that belike, whereby euery man should be pore. And thinke beside that riches & inheritance be gods prouidence, and giuen to whom of his wisedome he thinketh good. To the honest for the increase of their godlinesse, to the wicked for the heaping vp

of their dampnation, to the simple for a recompence of other lackes, to the wise for the greater setting out of Gods goodnesse. Why will your wisedome now stoppe Gods wisedome, and prouide by your lawes, that God shall not enrich them, whom he hath by prouidence appointed as him lyketh? God hath made the poore, and hath made them to be poore, that he might shewe his might, and set them a loft when he listeth, for such cause as to him seemeth, and pluck downe the rich, to this state of pouertie, to shewe his power, as hee disposeth to order them. Why doe not we then being poore beare it wisely, rather then by lust seeke riches vniustly, and shewe our selues contented with gods ordinance, which we must other willingly obey, and then we be wise, or else we must vnprofitably striue withall, and then we be madde. But what meane ye by this equalitie in the common welth? If one be wiser than an other, will ye banish him because ye intend an equalitie of all things? If one be stronger than another, will ye slay him because ye seeke an equalitie of all things? If one be well fauour-

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der than another, will ye punishe him bi-cause ye loke for an equalitie of all things? If one haue better vtterance than another, will ye pull out his tongue to saue your e-qualitie? And if one be richer than another, will ye spoyle him to maintaine an equali-tie? If one be elder than another, will ye kill him for this equalities sake? Howe iniuri-ous are ye to God himselfe, who intendeth to bestow his gifts as he himselfe liketh, and ye seeke by wicked insurrections to make him giue them commonly alike to all men, as your vaine fansie liketh. Why woulde ye haue an equalitie in ryches, and in other giftes of GOD, there is no meane sought. Other by ambition ye seeke Lord-lynesse, much vnfit for you, or by couetous-nesse ye be vnsatiable, a thing likely inoughe in ye, or else by follie ye be not content with your estate, a fansie to be plucked oute of you. But and we being werie of pouertie would seeke to enriche our selues, we should go a farre other way to worke than this, and so shoulde wee rightly come to our desire. Doth not Saint Peter teache vs afore God

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a right way to honor, to riches, to all necessarie, and profitable things for vs: He sayth humble your selues, that God might exalt you, and cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the waye to all good things, at Gods hande is to be humble, and you exalt your selues. Ye seeke thinges after such a sort, as if the seruant should anger his maister, when he seeketh to haue a good turne on him. Ye would haue riches I thinke, at Gods hand who giueth all riches, and yet ye take the way cleane contrarie to riches. Knowe ye not that he that exalteth himselfe, God will throwe him downe: How can ye get it then, by thus setting out your selues: Ye shoulde submit ye by humilitie one to an other, and ye set vp your selues by arrogancie aboue the Magistrates. See herein howe much ye offende God. Remember ye not that if ye come nigh to God, he will come nigh vnto you: If then ye go from God, he will goe from you. Doth not the Psalme say, he is holy with the holy, and with the wicked man he is frowarde. Euen as he is ordred of men he will order them a-

gaine.

gaine. If ye would folow his will, and obey his commaundementes, ye should eate the fruites of the earth sayth the Prophet, if not the swoorde shall deuour you. Ye might haue eaten the fruites of this seasonable yere, if ye had not by disobedience rebelled against God. Nowe not onely ye can not eate, that which your selues did first sowe by labour, and nowe destroy by sedition, but also if the Kings Maiesties swoorde came not against you, as iust pollicie requireth, yet the iust vengeance of God would light among you, as his woorde promiseth, and your cruell wickednesse deserueth.

For what soeuer the causes be that hath moued your wilde affections herein, as they be vniust causes and increase your faultes much, the thing it selfe, the rising I meane, must needes be wicked & horrible afore God, and the vsurping of authoritie, and taking in hande of rule, which is the sitting in Gods seat of iustice, and a prowde clyming vp into Gods high throne, must needes be not onely cursed newly by him, but also hath bene often punished afore of him. And that which

is done to Gods officer, God accompteth it done to him. For they despise not the minister as he sayth himself, but they despise him, and that presumption of challenging Gods seate, doth shewe you to haue bene Lucifers, and sheweth vs that God will punishe you like Lucifers. Wherefore rightly loke, as ye duelye haue deserued, other for great vengeance, for your abhominable transgression, or else earnestly repent, with vnfained mindes, your wicked doinges, and other with example of death be content to dehort other, or else by faythfulnesse of obedience, declare how great a seruice it is to God, to obey your Magistrates faithfully, and to serue in subiection truely.

Well if ye had not thus grieuously offended God, whome ye ought to worship, what can ye reasonably thinke it, to be no fault against the king, whome ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by Gods worde to obey your king, and is it no breake of duetie to withstande your king? If the seruaunt be bounde to obey his maister in the familie, is not the subiect bound to serue the king in his realme?

realme? The childe is bounde to the priuate father, and be we not all bounde to the common welthes father? If we ought to be subiect to the king for Gods cause, ought we not then I pray you to be faithfully subiect to the king? If we ought dutifully to shewe all obedience to heathen kings, shal we not willingly and truly be subiect to Christian kings? If one ought to submit himselfe by humilitie to an other, ought we not al by duty to be subiect to our king? If the members of our naturall body all folow the head, shall not ỹ members of the political body all obey the king? If gwd maners be content to giue place, the lower to the higher, shall not religion teache vs alway to giue place to the highest? If true subiectes will die gladly in the kinges seruice, should not all subiects thinke it duetie to obey the king with iust seruice. But you haue not onely disobeyed like ill subiectes, but also taken stoutly rule vpon you like wicked Magistrates. Ye haue bene called to obedience, by counsayle of priuate men, by the aduise of the kings Maiesties counsayle, by the kings Maiesties free pardon, but what counsayle

taketh place, where ſturdineſſe is lawe, and churliſhe aunſweres be counted wiſedome. Who can perſwade where treaſon is aboue reaſon, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatſoeuer is luſtfull, and commotioners is better then commiſſioners, and common wo is named common welth. Haue ye not broken his lawes, diſobeyed his counſayle, rebelled againſt him? And what is the common welth worth, when the lawe which is indifferent for all men, ſhall be wilfully and ſpitefully broken of headſtrong men, that ſeeke againſt lawes to order lawes, that thoſe may take place, not what the conſent of wiſe men hath appointed, but what the luſt of Rebelles hath determined. What vnthriftineſſe is in yll ſeruauntes, wickedneſſe in vnnaturall children, ſturdineſſe in vnruly ſubiectes, crueltie in fierce enimies, wyldeneſſe in beaſtly mindes, pride in diſdainefull hartes, that ſloweth nowe in you, which haue fled from houſed conſpiracies, to encamped roberies, and are better contented to ſuffer famine, colde, trauaile, to glutte your luſtes, than to line in quietneſſe, to ſaue

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the common welth, and thinke more libertie in wilfulneſſe, than wiſedome in dutifulneſſe, and ſo runne headlong not to the miſchiefe of other, but to the deſtruction of your ſelues, and vndoe by folye that ye intende by miſchiefe, neyther ſeeing how to remedie that ye iudge faultie, nor willing to ſaue your ſelues from miſerie, which ſtifneckednеſſe can not doe, but honeſtie of obedience muſt frame.

If authority would ſerue vnder a king, the counſayle haue greateſt authoritie, if wiſedome and grauitie might take place, they be of moſt experience, if knowledge of the common welth could helpe, they muſt by daylie conference of matters vnderſtande it beſt, yet neyther the authoritie that the kings Maieſtie haue giuen them, nor the grauity which you knowe to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauaile they haue gotten, can moue ye eyther to keeue you in the dutie ye ought to doe, or to auoide the great diſorder wherein ye be. For where diſobedience is thought ſtoutneſſe, and ſullenneſſe is counted manhood, and ſtomaking is courage, and prating is iudged wiſedome, and the cluiſheſt

is most meete to rule, how can other iust authoritie be obeyed, or sad counsaile be followed, or good knowledge of matters be heard, or commaundementes of counsailours bee considered? And howe is the king obeyed, whose wisest be withstanded, the disobedientest obeyed, the high in authoritie not waied, the vnskilfullest made chiefe Capitaines, to the noblest most hurt intended, the braggingest brawler to be most safe. And euen as the byler partes of the bodie, would contende in knowledge and gouernement with the fiue wittes, so doth the lower partes of the common welth, enterprise as high a matter, to striue against their duetie of obedience to the counsaile.

But what talke I of disobedience so quietly, hath not such mad rages runne in your heades, that forsaking and brusting the quietnesse of the common peace, ye haue haynously and Traytorously encamped your selfe in fielde, and there lyke a byle in a body, nay lyke a sinke in a towne, haue gathered togither all the nastie vagabondes, and ydle loyterers, to beare armour against him, with whome

whome all godly and good subiectes will lyue and dye withall. If it be a fault when two fight togither, and the kings peace broken, and punishment to be sought therefore, can it be but an outragious and a detestable mischiefe, when so many rebels in number, malicious in minde, mischieuous in enterprise, fight not among themselues, but against all the kings true and obedient subiects, and seke to proue whether rebellion may beate downe honestye, and wickednesse may ouercome truth or no? If it be treason to speake haynously of the kings maiestie, who is not hurt thereby, and the infamie returneth to the speaker againe, what kinde of outragious & horrible treason is it, to assemble in campe an armie against him, and so not onely intende an ouerthrowe to him, and also to his common welth, but also to cast him into an infamie, through all outwarde and straunge nations, and perswade them that he is hated of his people, whome he can not rule, and that they be no better then byllaines, which will not with good orders be ruled. What death can be deuised cruell ynough for those

rebelles,

rebelles, who with trouble seketh death, and can not quench the thirst of their rebellion, but with the bloud of true subiectes, and hasteth the kings mercifull pardon, when they miserably haue transgressed, and in such an outrage of mischiefe, wyll not by stubburnesse acknowledge themselues to haue fauted, but entendeth to broile the commō welth with the flame of their treason, and as much as lyeth in them, not onely to anoye themselues, but to destroy all other. He that is miscontented with things that happen, and bicause he can not beare the miserie of them, renteth his heare, and teareth his skinne, and mangleth his face, which easeth not his sorowe, but encreaseth his miserie, may he not be iustly called mad and fantastical, and worthy whose wisedome should be suspected: And what shall we say of them, who being in the common welth, feeling a sore grieuous vnto them, & easie to haue bene amended, sought not the remedy, but hath increased the griefe, and like frantick beasts raging against their head, doth teare and deface as much as lyeth in them, his whole authoritie in gouerne-

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ment, and violently taketh to themselues that rule on them, which he by pollicie hath graunted vnto other. And who waying well the heauinesse of the fault, may not iustlye say and holde, them to be worse herein then any kinde of brute beastes. For we see that the sheepe will obey the Shepheard, and the nete be ruled by the Neteheard, and the horse will know his Keeper, and the Dogge will be in awe of his Maister, and euery one of them fede there, and of that, as his keper and ruler doth appoint him, and goeth from thence, and that, as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we haue not heard of, that any heard or companye of these, haue risen against their heardman or gouernour, but be alwaies contented not onely to obey them, but also to suffer them to take profite of them. And we see furthermore that all heardes and all sortes, be more eger in fiercenesse against all kinde of straungers, then they be againe their own rulers, and will easier offende him who hath not hurt them, than touche their ruler who seketh profite on them. But ye that ought to be gouerned by your Magistrates, as the

heards by the heardman, and ought to be like sheepe to your king, who ought to be like a Shepheard vnto you, euen in the time when your profite was sought, and better redresse was entended, then your vpstirres and vnquietnesse coulde obtaine, haue beyonde the crueltie of all beastes, fowly risen against your rulers, and shewed your selues worthy to be ordred like beastes, who in kinde of obedience will fall from the state of men. A Dogge stoupeth when he his beaten of hys Maister, not for lacke of stomack, but for naturall obedience, you being not striken of your head but fauoured, not kept downe, but succoured, and remedyed by lawe, haue violently against lawe, not onely barcked like beastes, but also bitten like helhounds. What is the mischiefe of sedition, other not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue not examples aforetimes, both tolde the ende of rebels, and the wickednesse of rebellion it selfe? But as for olde examples, let them passe for a while, as things well to be considered, but at this present one thing more to be wated. Loke vpon your selues, after ye haue wickedly stept

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into this horrible kinde of treason, doe ye not see how many bottomlesse whirlepoles of mischiefe ye be golpht withal, and what lothsome kinds of rebellio ye be faine to wade thorow?

Ye haue sent oute in the Kinges name, against the kings will, precepts of all kindes, and without commaundement, commaunded his subiectes, and vnrulily haue ruled, where ye listed to commaund, thinking your owne fansies, the kings commaundements, and rebelles lustes in thinges, to be right gouernement of thinges, not loking what shoulde folowe by reason, but what youre selues folowe by affection. And is it not a daungerous and a cruell kinde of treason, so to giue out preceptes to the kinges people? There can be no iust execution of lawes, reformation of faultes, gyuing out of commaundementes, but from the king. For in the king onely is the right hereof, and the authoritie of him derined by his appointment to his ministers. Ye hauing no authoritie of the king, but taking it of your selues, what thinke ye your selues to be? Ministers ye be none, except ye be the Deuils ministers, for

he is the authour of sedition. The kings Maiestie intendeth to maintaine peace, and to oppresse warre, ye stirre vp vprores of people, hurlie burlies of vagabonds, routes of robbers, is this any part of the kings ministery? If a vagabond would doe what him lust, and call himselfe your seruaunt, and execute such offices of trust, whether ye woulde or no, as ye haue committed to an other mans credit, what would euery one of you say or doe herein? Would ye suffer it? Ye wander out of houses, ye make euery day newe matters as it pleaseth you, ye take in hande the execution of those things, God by his worde forbidding the same, which God hath put the Magistrates in trust withall. What can ye say to this? Is it sufferable thinke ye? If ye tolde a priuate message in an other mans name, can it be but a false lie I pray ye? And to tel a fained message to the common welth, & that from the king, can it be honest thinke ye? To commaund is more then to speake, what is it then to commaund so traytorous a lie? This then which is in worde a deceitfull lie, & in dæde a trayterous facte, noysome to

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the common welth, vnhonorable to the king, mischieuous in you, how can you otherwise iudge of it, but to be an vnheard of, and notable disobedience to the king, and therefore by notable example to be punished, and not with gentlenesse of pardon to be forgiuen.

Ye haue robbed euery honest house, and spoyled them vniustly, and pittiously wronge poore men being no offenders, to their vtter vndoing, and yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The kings Maiesties law and his commaundement is, that euery man should safely kepe his owne, and vse it reasonably to an honest gaine of his lyuing. Ye violently take and carie away from men without cause, all things wherby they should maintaine, not onely themselues but also their familie, and leaue them so naked, that they shall feele the smart of your cursed enterprise, longer then your owne vnnaturall, and vngodlye stomackes would well vouchsafe. By iustice ye shoulde neyther hurt, nor wrong man, and your pretensed cause, of this monstrous sturre, is to encrease mens welth. And yet howe many, and saye truth,

haue ye decayed and vndone, by ſpoyling and taking away their goods: How ſhould honeſt men liue quietly in the common welth at any time, if their goodes other gotten by their owne labour, or left to them by their friends, ſhall vnlawfully and vnorderly, to the feeding of a ſort of rebels, be ſpoyled and waſted, and vtterly ſcattred abrode: The thing ye take, is not your right, it is an other mans own. The maner of taking againſt his will, is vnlawfull, and againſt the order of euery good common welth. The cauſe why ye take it, is miſchieuous & horrible, to fatte vp your ſedition. Ye that take it, be wicked traytors, and common enimies of all good order. If he that deſireth an other mans goodes, or cattell doe fault, what doth he thinke you, whoſe deſire, taking foloweth, and is led to and fro by luſt, as his wicked fanſie voide of reaſon doth guide him: Ye that vſeth not his owne, well and charitably, hath much to aunſwere for, and ſhall they be thought not vniuſt, who not onely take away other mens, but alſo miſvſe and waſte the ſame vngodlye: They that take things priuily away, and ſteale ſecretly

and

and couertly other mens goodes, be by lawe iudged worthye death. And shall they that without shame spoyle things openly, and be not afeard by impudence to professe their spoyle, be thought eyther honest creatures to God, or faythfull subiectes to their King, or naturall men to their Countrie? If nothing had moued you but the example of mischiefe, and the fowle practise of other moued by the same, ye should yet haue abstayned from so licencious and so villanous a shewe of robberie, considering how many honester there be that being loth their wickednesse should be blased abroade, yet be founde out by prouydence, and hanged for desart. What shall we then thinke or say of you? Shall we call you pickers, or hid theues, nay more then theues, day theues, herd stelers, shire spoilers, and vtter destroyers of all kindes of families, both amonge the poore, and also among the riche. Let vs yet further see, is there no mo thinges wherein ye haue broken the Kings lawes, and so vylie disobeyed him, contrarie to your bounden dutie.

Ye haue not onely spoyled the Kinges true subiects

subiects of their goodes, but also ye haue imprisoned their bodies, which shoulde be at libertie vnder the King, and restrained them of their seruice, which by dutie they owe the King, and appaired both strength and helth, wherewith they liue and serue the King. Is there any honest thing more desired than libertie, ye haue shamefullye spoyled them thereof. Is there any thing more dutifull than to serue their Lorde and Maister? But as that was deserued of the one part, so was it hindered and stopped on your part. For neyther can the King be serued, nor families kept, nor the common welth loked vnto, where freedome of libertie is stopped, and diligence of seruice is hindred, and the help of strength & helth abated. Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bondage & cruelty, and only in this Realme be subiect in publike punishment, to our publike gouernour, and neyther be touched of headlesse Captaines, nor holden of brainlesse Rebels. For the gouernement of so precious a thing, ought to belong vnto the most noble ruler, and not iustly to be in euery mans power, which is

iustly euery liuing mans treasure. For what
goodes be so deare to euery man as his owne
bodie is, which is the true vessell of the mind
to be measurably kept of euery man, for all
exercises and seruices of the minde. If ye
maye not of your owne authoritie, meddle
with mens goodes, much lesse you maye of
your owne authoritie take order with mens
bodies. For what be goodes in comparison of
health, libertie, and strength, which be all
settled and fastened in the body. They that
strike other, doe greatly offende and be iustly
punishable. And shall they that cruelly and
wrongfully torment mennes bodyes with
yrons, and imprisonments, be thought not of
other, but of themselues honest, and playne,
and true dealing men? What shall we saye
by them who in a priuate businesse, will let a
man to go his iourney in the Kinges highe
way? Do they not thinke ye playne wrong?
Then in a common cause, not only to hinder
them, but also to deale cruelly with them,
and shutte them from doing their seruice to
the Kinge, and their dutie to the common
welth, is it not both disobedience, cruelty, and

mischiefe thinke ye? What an hinderaunce is it, to haue a good garment hurt, any iewell appaired, or any esteemed thing to be decayed? And seeing no earthly thing, a man hath more precious than his body, to cause it to be cruelly tormented with yrons, feebled with colde, weakened with ordering, can it be thought any other thing but wrong to the sufferer, crueltie in the doer, and great disobedience and transgression to the King? How then be ye able to defende it? But seeing ye so vnpitifully vexe men, cast them in prison, lade them with yrons, pyne them with famine, contrarie to the rule of nature, contrarie to the Kings Maiesties lawes, contrarie to Gods holy ordinaunces, hauing no matter, but pretensed and fayned glosses, ye be not only disobedient to the King like Rebelles, but withstanding the lawe of nature lyke beasts, and so worthie to die like Dogs, except the Kinges Maiestie, without respect of your deseruing, doe mercifully graunt you of his goodnesse, that as you cannot escape by iustice.

Yet ye being not content with thys, as

small

small things enterprise great matters, & as though ye could not satisfie your selfe, if ye should leaue anye mischiefe vndone, haue sought bloud with crueltie, and haue slayne of the kings true subiectes many, thinking their murder to be your defence, when as ye haue encreased the fault of your vile rebellion, with the horrour of bloudshed, and so haue burdened mischiefe wyth mischiefe, while it come to an importable weight of mischiefe. What could we doe more, in the horribleſt kinde of faultes, to the greatest transgressours, and offendours of God and mē, then to loke straightly on them by death, and so to rid them out of the common welth by seuere punishment, whome ye thought vnworthy to liue among men for their doings. And those who hath not offended the king, but defended his realme, and by obedience of seruice sought to punishe the disobedient, and for safegarde of euerye man put themselues vnder duetie of lawe, those haue ye miserably and cruelly slayne, and bathed you in their bloud, whose doinges ye should haue folowed, and so haue appayred the com-

mon welth, both by destruction of good men and also by encrease of rebels. And how can that common welth by any meanes endure, wherein euery man without authoritie, may vnpunished, slea whome he lyste, and that in such case as those who be slayne, shew themselues most noble of courage, and most ready to serue the king, and the common welth, and those as doe slea, be most villanous, and trayterous rebelles, that any common welth did euer sustaine. For a Citie and a Prouince be not the faire houses, and the strong walles, nor the defence of any engine, but the lyuing bodies of men, being able in number and strength, to maintaine themselues by good order of iustice, and to serue for all necessary, and behoueable vses in the common welth. And when as mans body being a part of the whole common welth, is wrongfully touched any way, & specially by death, then suffereth the common welth great iniurie, and that alway so much the more, howe honester and nobler he is, who is iniuriously murdered. How was the Lord Sheffeld handled among you, a noble Gentleman and of

good

good seruice, both fit for counsaile in peace, and for conduct in warre, considering other the grauitie of his wisedome, or the authoritie of his person, or his seruice to the common welth, or the hope that all men had in hym, or the neede that Englande had of such, or among many notablie good, his singuler excellencie, or the fauour all men bare towarde him, being loued of euery man, and hated of no man. Considered ye, who should by duetie be the kings subiectes, other howe ye shoulde not haue offended the King, or after offence haue required the Kinges pardon, or not to haue refused his goodnesse offred, or at length to haue yelded to his mercie, or not to haue slaine those who came for his seruice, or to haue spared those, who in daūger offred raunsome. But all these things forgotten by rage of rebellion, bicause one madnesse can not be without infinite vices, ye slue him cruellye, who offered himselfe manfully, nor woulde not spare for raunsome, who was worthy for nobleneſſe, to haue had honour, and hewed him bare, whome ye could not hurt armed, and by slauery slue nobilitie, in deede misera-

bly, in fashion cruelly, in cause deuillishly. Oh with what cruell spite was violently sundered, so noble a body from so godly a minde? Whose death must rather be reuenged then lamented, whose death was no lack to himselfe, but to his countrey, whose death might euerye way bene better borne, then at a Rebels hand. Violence is in all things hurtfull, but in life horrible. What should I speake of others in the same case, dyuers and notable, whose death for manhood and seruice, can want no worthie prayse, so long as these vglye stirrers of rebellion can be had in minde, God hath himselfe ioyned mans bodye and his soule togither, not to be departed asunder, afore he eyther disseuer them himselfe, or cause them to be disseuered by his minister. And shall rebels and hedlesse campes, being armed against God, and in field against their King, think it no fault, to shed bloud of true subiects, hauing neyther office of God, nor appointment of ministers, nor iust cause of rebellion? He that steleth any part of a mans substaunce, is worthy to lose his lyfe. What shall we thinke of them, who spoyle men of

their

their lyues, for the mayntenaunce whereof, not only substaunce and riches be sought for, but also al common welthes be deuised. Now then, your owne consciences should be made your iudges, and none other set to giue sentence against ye, seeing ye haue bene such bloud shedders, so haynous manquellers, so horrible murderers, coulde ye doe any other then plainely confesse, your foule and wicked rebellion, to be grieuous against God, and trayterous to the King, and hurtfull to the commō welth: So many grieuous faults meeting togither in one sinke, might not onely haue discouraged, but also driuen to desperation, anye other honest or indifferent minde. But what feele they, whose hartes so deepe mischiefe hath hardened, and by vehimencie of affection be made vnshamefast, & stop al discourse of reason, to let at large the full scoupe of their vnmeasurable madnesse.

Priuate mens goods seemeth little to your vnsatiable desires, ye haue wared greedye now vpon Cities, and haue attempted mightie spoyles, to glut vppe and ye coulde your wasting hunger. Oh how much haue they

neede

neede of, that will neuer be contented, and what richesse can suffice any that will attempt high enterprises aboue their estate: Ye could not maintaine your campes with your priuate goods, with your neighbors portion, but ye must also attempt Cities, bicause ye sought great spoyles, with other mens losses, and had forgotten howe ye liued at home honestly with your owne, and thought them worthie death that would disquiet ye in your house, and plucke awaye that which ye by right of law thought to be your owne. Herein see what ye woulde haue done, spoyled the Kings Maiesties subiectes, weakened the Kings strength, ouerthrowne his townes, taken away his munition, drawen his subiectes to like rebellion, yea and as it is among forrein enimies in sacking of Cities, no doubt thereof ye woulde haue fallen to slaughter of men, rauishing of Wiues, deflouring of Maidens, chopping of children, firing of houses, beating downe of stretes, ouerthrowing of all togither. For what measure haue men in the increase of madnesse, whē they cannot at the beginning stay themselues

selues from falling into it. And if the besetting of one house to robbe it, be iustly deemed worthy death, what shall we thinke of them that besiege whole Cities for desire of spoile? We liue vnder a King to serue him at all times, when he shall neede our strength, and shall ye then not only withdraw your selues, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but also violently plucke other awaye to, fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods commaundement, all subiectes be straightlye bound, and by all lawes euery nation is naturally led? The townes be not only the ornament of the Realme, but also the seate of Merchaunts, the place of Handicraftes, that men scattered in villages, and needing diuers things, may in little roume know, where to finde their lacke. To ouerthrowe them then, is nothing else but to waste your owne commodities so, that when ye would buye a necessarie thinge for money, ye coulde not tell where to finde it. Munition serueth the King, not only for the defence of his owne, but also for the inuasion of his enimie. And if ye will then so straightly deale with him, that

ye will not let him so much as defende his owne, ye offer him double iniurie, both that ye let him from doing anye notable fact abrode, and also that ye suffer not him quietly to enioye his owne at home. But herein hath notably appeared, what Cities hath faithfully serued and suffered extreme daunger, not onely of goodes, but also of famine, and death, rather then to suffer the kings enimies to enter, and what white lyuered Cities hath not only not withstande them, but also with shame fauoured them, and with mischiefe ayded them. And I woulde I might praise herein all Cities alike, which I woulde doe, if all were like worthie. For then I might shewe more faith in subiectes, than strength in Rebels, and testifie to men to come, what a generall faith euerye Citie bare to the kings Maiestie, whose age although it were not fit to rule, yet his subiectes hearts were willing to obey, thinking not onelye of his hope, which all men conceyue hereafter to be in him, but also of the iust kinde of gouernment, which in his minoritie his Counsayle doth vse among them. And heare, how much

much and howe worthily maye Exceter be commended, which being in the middest of Rebelles, vnuittailed, vnfurnished, vnprepared, for so long a siege, did noblye holde out the continuall and daungerous assault of the Rebell. For they sustained the violence of the Rebell, not onely when they had plentie ynough of vittayle, but also.xi.or.xy.dayes after the extreme famine came on them, and liuing without breade, were in courage so manfull, and in dutie so constant, that they thought it yet much better, to die the extreme death of hunger, shewing truth to their King, and loue to their Countrie, than to giue any place to the Rebell, and fauour him with ayde, although they might haue done it with their lesse daunger. Whose example if Norwich had followed, and had not rather giuen place to traytor Ket, than to keepe their duetie, and had not sought more safegarde than honestie, and priuate hope more than common quietnesse, they had ended their Rebellion sooner, and escaped themselues better, and saued the losse of the worthye Lorde Sheffilde, in whome was more

true seruice for his life, than in them for their goodes. And although this can not be spoken against certaine honest that were amongest them, whose prayse was the greater, bicause they were so fewe, yet the great number was such that they not onely obeyed the Rebell for feare, but also followed him for loue, and did so traiterously order the kinges bande vnder my Lorde Marquesse, that they suffered more dammage, out of their houses by the townesmen, than they did abrode by the Rebelles. Whose fault as the Kinges Maiestie may pardon, so I would eyther the example might be forgotten, that no Citie myght hereafter follow the like, or the deede be so abhorred, that other hereafter woulde auoyde the like shame, and learne to be noble by Exceter, whose truth doth not onelye deserue long prayses, but also great rewarde.

Who then that woulde willingly defende ye, can say any thing for ye, which haue so diuerslye faulted, so trayterously offended, not onely against priuate men seuerally, but also generally against whole townes, and that after such a sort, as outwarde enimies

full

full of deadly fode, coulde not more cruelly inuade them. And thus the Kinges Maiestie dishonored, his Counsayle disobeyed, the godes of the poore spoyled, the houses of the welthy sacked, honest mens bodies imprisoned, worthie mens personages slaine, Cities besieged, and threatned, and all kinde of things disordered, can ye without teares and repentaunce here spoken off, which without honestie and godlinesse ye practised, and not finde in your hartes now to returne to dutie, which by witchcraft of sedition, were drowned in disorder? Haue ye not in disorder first grieuously offended God, next trayterously risen against your King, and so nother worthie euerlasting life, as long as ye so remaine, nor yet ciuile life, being in such a breach of common quietnes. If euery one of these cannot by themselues, pluck you backe from this your lewde and outragious enterprises, yet let all togither stirre ye, or at least be a fearefull example to other, to beware by your vnmeasurable follie, howe they doe so farre prouoke God, or offende man, and finde by your mistemper to be themselues

better ordered, and learne still to obey, bicause they woulde not repente, and so to liue with honestie, that they woulde nother willingly offend Gods law, nor disobey mans.

But and ye were so much blered, that you did thinke impossible things, and your reason gaue ye against all reason, that ye nother displeased God herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye so blinde, that ye vnderstande not your owne case, nor your neighbors miserie nor the ruine of the whole common welth, which doth euidently folowe, your so fowle and detestable sedition? Doe ye not see how for the maintenaunce, of these vngodly rablements, not onely Cities and Villages, but also Shieres and Countries be vtterly destroyed? Is not their corne wasted, their cattell fet away, their houses rysled, their goods spoyled, and all to fede your vprising without reason, and to maintaine this tumult of rebellion, inuented of the Deuill, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowne by the power of Gods mightie hand? And why should not so hurtfull wasting and herying of Countries, be iustly punished with great seueri-

tie,

tie, seeing robbing of houses, and taking of purses, doe by lawe deserue the extremitie of death? Howe many suffer iniurie when one hundred of a Shiere is spoyled, and what iniurie thinke ye is done, when not onelye whole Shieres be destroyed, but also euery quarter of the realme touched? Haue ye not brought vpon vs all pouertie, weakenesse, and hatred within the realme, & discourage, shame, and dammage, without the realme? If ye miserably entended not onely to vndoe other, but also to destroy your selues, and to ouerthrowe the whole realme, could ye haue taken a readier waye to your owne ruine then this is?

And first if ye be any thing reasonable, lift vp your reason, and way by wisedome, if not all thinges, yet your owne cases, and learne in the beginning of matters, to foresee the ende, and so iudge aduisedly, or ye enter into any thing hastily. See ye not thys yere the losse of Haruest? And thinke ye, ye can grow to welth that yere, when ye lose your thrift & profite? Barnes be poore mens storehouses, wherein lyeth a great part of

euerye

euerye mans owne lyuing, his wyues and his childrens lyuing, wherewith men maintaine their families, paye their rentes, and therfore be alwayes thought most rich when they haue best croppes. And now when there is nother plentie of haye, nor sufficient of strawe, nor corne ynough, and that through the great disorder of your wicked rebellion, can ye thinke ye to doe well, when ye vndoe your selues, and iudge it a common welth, when the commons is destroyed, and sæke your hap by vnhappinesse, and esteeme your owne losse, to be your owne forwardnesse, and by this iudgement shewe your selues, howe little ye vnderstande other mens matters, when ye can scarsely cõsider the waighties of your owne? Hath not the haie thys yere, as it rose fro the grounde, so rotted to the grounde againe, and where it was wont by mens seasonable labour, to be taken in due time, and then serue for the maintenance of horse and cattell, wherewith we lyue, now by your disordered mischiefe, hath bene by mens ydlenesse and vndutifulnesse, let alone vntouched, and so neyther serueth the poore

to

to make money of, nor anye cattell to lyue with. The corne was sowne with labor, & the ground tilled for it with labour, & looked to be brought home againe with labour, & for lack of honest labourers, is lost on the ground: the owners being loyterers, and seeking other mens, haue lost their owne, and hoping for mountaines, lacked their present thrift, neyther obteyning that they sought, nor seeking that they ought. And howe shall men liue when the maintenaunce of their prouision is lacking? For laboring and their olde store is wasted by wildnes of sedition, and so neyther spare the olde, nor saue the newe. How can men be fedde then or beastes liue, when as such wastefull negligence is miserablye vsed, and mispending the time of their profite, in shamefull disorder of inobedience, they care not greatly what becomes of their owne, bicause they intende to liue by other mens? Hay is gone, corne is wasted, strawe is spoyled: what reckning of harnest can ye make, other for the aide of others, or for the relieue of your selues? And thus haue ye brought in one kinde of miserie, which if ye

sawe before, as ye be like to feele after, although ye had hated the common welth, yet for loue of your selues, ye would haue auoyded the great enormitie therof, into the which ye wilfully nowe haue cast in your selues.

An other no lesse is, that such plentie of victayle, as was aboundauntly in euery quarter, for the releefe of vs all, is nowe all wastfully and vnthriftfully spent, in maintayning you vnlawfull rebelles, and so with disorder all is consumed, which with good husbandrie might long haue endured. For so much as would haue serued a whole yere at home, with diligent and skilfull heede of husbandrie, that is wilfully wasted in a moneth in the campe, through the rauening spoyle of byllanie. For what is vnordred plentie, but a wastfull spoyle: wherof the inconuenience is so great, as ye be worthie to feele, and bringeth in more hardnesse of lyuing, greater dearth of all thing, and occasioneth manye causes of diseases. The price of things must needes encrease much, when the number of things wareth lesse, and by scarsitie be enhaunsed, and compelleth men to abate their

liberalitie

liberalitie in house, both to their owne, and also to straungers. And where the riche wanteth, what can the poze finde, who in a common scarsitie, lyueth most scarsely, and feeleth quicklieſt the sharpeneſſe of staruing, when euerye man foz lack is hungerbitten, which if ye had well remembzed befoze, as ye nowe may after perceiue, ye woulde not I thinke so stifneckedlye haue resisted, and endaungered your selfe in the stozme of famine, whereof ye most likely, must haue the greatest part, which most stubburnly resisted, to your owne shame and confusion.

Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth, commeth a great death, foz that when men in great want of meate eate much yll meat, they fill their bodyes with yll humozs, and caste them from their state of helth, into a subiection of sickneſſe, bycause the good bloud in the body is not able to keepe his temper, foz the multitude of the yll humozs that cozrupteth the same. And so growe great and deadly plagues, and destroy great numbers of all soztes, sparing no kinde that they light on, nother respecting the poze with mercie,

nor the riche with fauour. Can ye therefore thinke herein, when ye see decay of vytailes, the ryche pinche, the poore famishe, the folowing of diseases, the greatnesse of death, the mourning of wydowes, the pittifulnesse of the fatherlesse, and all this miserie to come thorowe your vnnaturall misbehauiour, that ye haue not daungerously, hurt the commons of your Countrie, with a dolefull and an vncurable wounde? These thyngs being once felt in the common welth, as they must nedes be, euerye man seeth by and by what folowseth, a great diminishment of the strength of the realme, when the due number that the realme doth maintaine is made lesse, and therby we be made rather a pray for our enmies, then a safetie for our selues.

And howe can there be but a great decay of people at the length, when some be ouerthrowne in warre, some suffer for punishment, some pine for famine, some die with the campes diet, some be consumed with sicknesse. For although ye thinke your selues able to match with a fewe vnpreparcd Gentlemen, and put them from their houses, that

ye

ye might gaine the spoyle, doe ye iudge ther-
fore your selues strong ynough, not onely to
withstande a Kings power, but also to ouer-
throwe it? Is it possible that ye should haue
so madde a frensie in your heade, that ye
shoulde thinke the number ye see so strong,
that all ye see not, should not be able to pre-
uaile to the contrarie? With what reason
could ye thinke, that if ye bode the hote brunt
of battaile, but ye must needs feele the smart,
specially the kings power comming against
you, which if ye feare not, belike ye knowe
not the force thereof: And so much the grea-
ter number is lost in the realme, that both
the ouercommer and the ouercommed be
parties, although vnlike, of one realme: and
what losse is not onely of eyther side, but of
both, that doth plainely redowne to ỹ whole.
Then where so great and so horrible a fault
is committed, as worse can not be mentio-
ned of, from the beginning, and bringeth in
withall, such penurie, such weakenesse, such
disorder in the common wealth, as no mis-
chiefe beside could doe the like: can any man
thinke with iust reason that all shall escape

vnpuniſhed, that ſhall eſcape the ſworde, and not manye for terrour and examples ſake, ſhould be loked vnto, who haue bene eyther great doers in ſuch a diſordred villanie, or great counſailers to ſuch an outgrowne miſchiefe, ſeing the only remedie of redreſſing wilfull faultes, is a iuſt and a ſeuere puniſhment of ſuch, whoſe naughtie deedes good men ought to abhorre for duties ſake, and yll men maye dreade for like puniſhmentes ſake, and a free licence to doe miſchiefe vnpuniſhed, is ſo daungerous that the ſufferaunce of one, is the occaſion of the fall of a great number, and womanniſh pitie to one, is a deceitfull crueltie to the whole, entiſing them to their owne deſtruction by ſufferance, which woulde haue auoided the daunger by ſore puniſhment.

And in ſuch a barenneſſe of victayle, as muſt needes come after ſo rauening a ſpoyle, it muſt needes be that ſome though few, ſhall be ſo nipt with egerneſſe of famine, that they ſhall not recouer againe themſelues out of ſo fretting a daunger. So in a generall weakeneſſe, where all ſhall be feebled, ſome muſt needes

nedes die, and so diminish the number, and abate such strength, as the Realme defended it selfe withall afore. Which occasion of neuer so few, comming of so great a cause, if ye should make iust amendes for, not of recompence which ye could not, but of punishment which ye ought, how many, how diuers, and how cruel deaths, ought euery one of ye often suffer? How many came to the campes from long labour to sodeine ease, and from meane fare to stroying of bittaile, and so fell in a maner vnwares, to such a contrary chaunge, that nature hir selfe abiding neuer great and sodeine chaunges, cannot beare it without some grounds entred of diseases to come, which vncircumspect men shall sooner fele than thinke of, & then wyll scarsely iudge the cause, when they shall be vexed with the effect. It is little marueyle that ydleneſſe, and meate of another mans charge will some fede vp and fatte likely men: but it is great marueile if ydleneſſe and other mens meate doe not abate the same by sickeneſſe againe, and specially comming from the one, and going to the other, contrarie in those who violently

lently seeke to turne in a moment, the whole Realme to the contrarie. For while their minde chaungeth from obedience to vnrulynesse, and turneth it selfe from honestie to wildenesse, and their bodies go from labor to ydlenesse, from small fare to spoyle of victaile, and from beddes in the night to cabins, and from sweete houses to stinking campes, it must needes be by chaunging of affections which alter the body, and by vsing of rest that filleth the body, and glutting of meates which weakeneth the body, & with cold in the nights which acraseth the bodie, & with corrupt ayre which infecteth ỹ body, that there folow some grieuous tempest, not onely of contagious sicknesse, but also of present death to the body.

The greatest pluck of all is that vehemence of plague, which naturallye foloweth the dint of hunger, which whenit entreth once among men, what dartes ofpangues, what throwes of paynes, whatshoutes of death, doth it cast out, how many fall, not astonied with the sicknesse, but fretted with the paine, how beateth it downe, not only small townes, but also great countries?

This

This when ye see light, first on your beastes, which lacketh fodder, and after fall on men, whose bodies gapeth for it, and see the scarsenesse of men to be, by this your fowle enterprise, and not onely other men touched with plagues, but also your owne house stunge with death, and the plague also raysed of your rising, to fyre your selues, can ye thinke to be anye other, but manquellers of other, and murderers of your selues, and the principalles of the ouerthrow, of so great a number, as shall other by swoorde or punishment, famine or some plague, or pestilence be consumed, and wasted out of the common welth: And seeing he that decayeth the number of Cotages, or Plowes in a towne, seemeth to be an enimie to the common welth, shall we not count him, not onely an enimie, but also a murtherer of his Countrie, who by harebrained vnrulinesse, causeth the vtter ruine, and pestilent destruction of so manye thousande men? Graunt this folye then and ouersight, to be such as worthily ye may count it, and I shall go further in declaring of other great inconueniences, which your daunge-

rous and furious misbehauiour hath hurtfully brought in, seing diuers honest and true dealing men, whose lyuing is by their owne prouision, hath come so aforehande by time, that they haue bene able well, to liue honestly in their houses, and pay besides the rentes of their farmes truely, & nowe haue by your crueltie and abhorred insurrections lost their goodes, their cattle, their harnest, which they had gotten before, & wherwith they entended to liue hereafter, and now be brought to this extremity, that they be neither able to liue, as they were wont at home afore, nor to paye their accustomable rente at their due time. Whereby they be brought into trouble and vnquietnesse, not onely musing what they haue lost by you, but also cursing you by whome they haue lost it, and also in daunger of losing their holdes at their Lordes hands, except by pittie they shewe more mercy, then the right of the lawe will graunt by iustice. And what a griefe is it to an honest man, to labour truely in youth, and to gaine painefully by labour, wherewith to liue honestly in age, and to haue this, gotten in long time,

to

to be sodainely raught away, by the violence of sedition, which name he ought to abhorre by it selfe, although no miserie of losse followed to him therby. But what greater griefe ought seditious rebelles to haue themselues, who if they be not striken with punishment, yet ought to pyne in conscience, and melt away with the griefe of their owne faultes, when they see innocents and men of true seruice, hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, and who in a good common welth, should for honesties sake prosper, they by these rebelles onely meanes, be cast so behinde the hande, as they can not recouer easily againe by their owne truth, that as they haue lost by those traytours mischiefe. And if vntrust men ought not, so to be handled at any mans handes, but onely stande to the order of a lawe, how much more should true and faythfull subiects, who deserue prayse, feele no vnquietnesse, nor be vexed with sedition, who be obediently in subiection, but rather seeke iust amendes at false rebelles handes, and by law obtaine that they lost by disorder, and so constraine you to the vttermost, to

pay the recompence of wrongfull losses, because ye were the authors of these wrongfull spoyles. Then woulde ye sone perceyue the common welthes hurt, not when other felt it who deserued it not, but when you smarted who caused it, and stode not and loked vpon other mens losses, which ye might pittie, but tormented wyth your owne, which ye would lament.

Now I am past this mischiefe, which ye wil not hereafter deny, when ye shal praise other mens foresight, rather then your wicked doings, in bewayling the ende of your furie in whose beginning ye now reioyce. What say ye to the number of vagabonds and loytring beggers, which after the ouerthrow of your campe and scattering of this seditious number, will swarme in euerye corner of the realme, and not onely lye loytering vnder hedges, but also stande sturdely in Cities, and begge boldly at euery doze, leauing labour which they like not, and folowing idlenesse which they should not. For euery man is easily and naturally brought, from labour to ease, from the better to the worse, from diligence

ligence to slouthfulnesse, and after warres it is commonly seene, that a great number of those which went out honest, returne home againe like roisters, and as though they were burnt to the warres bottome, they haue all their lyfe after an vnsauery smack thereof, and smell still toward daysleepers, pursepickers, highwayrobbers, quarrelmakers, ye, and bloudsheders to. Doe we not see commonly in the ende of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering then before, and those to stande in the high way to aske their almes, whome ye be afraide to say nay vnto honestly, least they take it away from you violently, and haue more cause to suspect their strength, then pittie their neede. Is it not then daily heard, how men be not onely pursued, but vtterly spoyled, and fewe may ryde safe by the kings way, except they ryde strong, not so much for feare of their goodes, which men esteeme lesse, but also for daunger of their lyfe, which euery man loueth. Worke is vndone at home, and loyterers linger in stretes, lurck in Alehouses, raunge in highwayes, valyaunt beggers playe in

townes, and yet complaine of neede, whose staffe if it be once hote in their hande, or sluggishnesse bred in their bosome, they wyll neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting themselues better with ydle beggary, then with honest and profitable labour. And what more noysome beasts be in a common welth: Drones in Hiues suck out the honie, a small matter, but yet to be loked on by good husbandes. Caterpillers destroy the fruite, an hurtefull thing and well shyfted for, by a diligent ouersèer. Diuers vermine destroye corne, kill Polleine, engines and snares be made for them. But what is a loyteror? A sucker of Honie, a spoyler of corne, a destroyer of fruite, naye a waster of money, a spoyler of vittayle, a sucker of bloud, a breaker of orders, a sèeker of breakes, a queller of life, a basiliske of the commõ welth, which by company and sight, doth poyson the whole Countrie, and stayneth honest mindes, with the infection of his benime, and so draweth the common welth to death and destruction. Such is the fruites of your labour, and trauayle for your pretensed common welth,

which

which iustice woulde no man should taste of but your selues, that ye might truely iudge of your owne mischiefe, and fray other by example from presuming the lyke. When we see a great number of flyes in a pere, we naturally iudge it like to be a great plague, and hauing so great a swarming of loytering vagabondes, readie to begge and brawle at euery mannes doze, which declare a greater infection, can we not loke for a grieuouser and perillouser daunger than the plague is? Who can therefore otherwise deeme, but this one deadly hurt, wherewith the common welth of our nation is wounded, beside all other is so pestilent, that there can be no more hurtful thing, in a wel gouerned state, nor more throwne into all kinde of vice and vnrulynesse, and therefore this your sedition is not onely most odious, but also most horrible, that hath spotted the whole Countrie, with such a staine of ydlenesse.

There can be none ende of faultes, if a man rehearse all faultes that doe necessarily follow this vnruly slurdinesse. For not onely vagabondes wandering and scattering themselues

selues for mischiefe, shall runne in a mans eyes, but also disorder of euery degree, shall enter in into a mans minde, and shall beholde hereby the common welth miserablye defaced by you, who shoulde as much as other, haue kept your selues in order in it. Nother be the Magistrates duly obeyed, nor the lawes iustly feared, nor degrees of men considered, nor Maisters well serued, nor Parents truly reuerenced, nor Lordes remembred of their tenantes, nor yet other naturall, or ciuill Lawe much regarded. And it is plainly vnpossible that that Countrie shall well stande in gouernement, and the people grow to welth, where order in euery state, is not fitly obserued, and that body can not bee without much griefe of inflamation, where any least part is out of ioynt, or not duely set in his owne naturall place. Wherfore order must be kept in the common welth lyke helth in the body, and all the drift of pollicie loketh to this ende, how this temper may be safely maintained, without any excesse of vnmeasurableneesse, other of the one side or of the other. And easie ynough it is to keepe

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the same, when it is once brought into the meane, and to holde it in the staye it is found in, but when it burſteth out once with a behemence, and hath gotten into an vnruly diſorder, it ſpreadeth ſo faſt, and ouerflowеth all honeſt mens reſiſting ſo violently, that it wil be harde to recouer ỹ breach of long time againe, except with great and wiſe counſaile which no doubt ſhall be in ſeaſon vſed, there be wonderfull remedies ſought therfore. And euen as a man falling, is eaſier holden vp by ſtay, than when he is fallen downe, he is able to riſe againe, ſo is the common wealth ſlipping, by the foreſight of wiſdome, better kept from ruine, then when it is once fallen into any kinde of miſerie, the ſame may be called againe to the olde and former ſtate. Doe we not euidently knowe, that a man may better keepe his armē or his legge from breaking or falling out of ioynt, afore hurt come to it, then after the hurt, it may ſafely and quietly be healed, and reſtored to the former ſtrength and health againe? And now thorowe your ſeditious meanes, thinges that were afore quiet and in good order, lawes feared and o-

beyed, subiectes ruled and kept in duetie, be all now in a great disorder, and like if it be not holpen, to growe to wildenesse, and a beastlinesse, seeing that neither common dutie can be kept, which nature prescribeth, nor common law can be regarded, which pollicie requireth. How can ye keepe your owne if ye keepe no order, your wife and children, how can they be defended from other mens violence, if ye will in other things breake all order, by what reason would ye be obeyed of yours as seruauntes, if ye will not obey the King as subiectes, howe woulde ye haue others deale orderly with you, if ye will vse disorder against all others: Seeing then there is such a confusion now of things, such a turmoyle of men, such a disorder of fashions, who can looke to liue quietly a great whyle, who can thinke but that ye haue miserablye tossed the common wealth, and so vexed all men with disorder, that the inconuenience hereof, can not onely nippe others, but also touch you.

But now see how that not onely these vnlooked for mischieues, haue heauily growne

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on ye, but also those commodities, which ye thought to haue holpen your selues and others by, be not onely hindered but also hurt thereby. The Kinges Maiestie by thaduise &c. entended a iust reformation, of all suche things as poore men could truly shewe themselues oppressed with, thinking equalitie of iustice, to be the Diademe of his Kingdome, and the safegarde of his commons. Which was not only entended by wisedome, but also set on with speede, & so entred into a due considering of al states, that none should haue iust cause to grudge against the other, when as euery thing rightfully had, nothing coulde be but vnrightfully grudged at. And this would haue bene done, not onelye with your glad and willing assent, but also bene done by this daye almost throwout the whole Realme, so that quietly it had bene obteyned without inconuenience, and speedily without delay. And whatsoeuer had bene done by the Kings Maiesties authoritie, that woulde by right haue remayned for euer, and so taken in law, that the contraris partie, neyther could by iustice, neither would by boldenesse, haue enterpri-

sed the breake thereof. But least wicked men should be wealthy, and they whose hartes be not truly bent to obedience, shoulde obteine at the Kings hand, that they deserued not in a common welth, ye haue marueylously and worthily hurt your selues, and graciously prouided except the Kings godnesse be more vnto you, than your owne desertes can claime, that ye be not so much worthie as to be benefited in anye kinde, as ye be worthie to lose that ye haue on euerie side. Ye haue thought good to be your owne reformers belyke, not only vnnaturally mistrusting the Kings iustice, but also cruelly and vnciuilly dealing with your owne neighbours. Wherin I would as ye haue hurt the whole Realm, so ye had not enterprised a thing most daungerous to your selues, and most contrarie to the thing ye intended. If ye had let things alone, thought good by your selues to be redressed, and dutifully loked for the performance of that, the Kinges Maiestie promised reformatiõ, they should not haue bene vndone at this time, as in a great sort of honest places they bée, nor those countries who for their quiet-

quietnesse be most worthie to be loked on, should haue bene vnprouided for at this day. But this commoditie hath happened by the way, that it is euidentlye knowne by your mischiefe, and others dutie, who be most true to the King, and most worthie to be done for, and who be most pernitious and traiterous Rebels. And it is not to be doubted, but they shall be considered with thankes, and finde iust redresse without deserued miserie, and you punished like Rebelles, who might haue had both praise and profite like subiectes. For that as ye haue valiauntlye done of your selues, thinke ye it will stande any longer, than men feare your rage, which can not endure long, and that ye shall not then bide the rigor of the lawe, for your priuate iniuries, as ye vsed the furie of your braines in other mens oppressions? Will men suffer wrong at your handes when law can redresse, and the right of the common welth will maintaine it, and good order in Countries will beare it? Ye amende faultes as yll Surgions heale sores, which when they seeme to be whole aboue, they ranckle at the bottome, and so be

faine continually to be sore, or else be mended by new breaking of the skinne. Your redresse seemeth to you perfite and good, ye haue pulled downe such thinges as ye woulde, ye thinke now all is well, ye consider no farther, ye seeke not the bottome, ye see not the sore, that ye haue done it by no lawe, ye haue redressed it by no order, what then? If it be none otherwise searched than by you, it will not tary long so, other it wil be after continually, as it was afore your comming, or else it must be when all is done amended by ỹ king.

Thus haue ye both lacked in the time, and misse in the doing, and yet besides that ye haue done, which is by your doing to no purpose, ye haue done the things with such inconueniences, as hath bene both before rehearsed, and shall be after declared, that better it had bene for you, neuer to haue enioyed the commoditie if there be any, then to suffer the griefes that will ensue, which be very many. In euery quarter some men whome ye set by will be lost, which euery one of you if ye haue loue in ye, would rather haue lacked the profite of your enclosures, then cause

such

such destruction of them, as is like by reason and iudgement necessarily to folow. What common welth is it then, to doe such abhominable enterpzises after so vile a sozt, that ye hinder that good ye woulde doe, and bzing in that hurt ye woulde not, and so finde that ye sæke not, and follow that ye lose, and destroye your selues by follye, rather then ye woulde be ozdered by reason, and so haue not so much amended your olde sozes, as bzought in newe plagues, which ye your selues that deserue them will lament, and we which haue not deserued them may curse you foz. Foz although the Kings Maiestie &c. entended foz your pzofites a refozmation in his common welth, yet his pleasure was not, noz no reason gaue it, that euerie subiect should busily intermedle with it of their owne head, but only those whome his counsaile thought most mæte men foz such an honest purpose. The Kings Maiestie &c. hath godly refozmed an vncleane part of religion, & hath bzought it to the true forme of the first Church that folowed Christ, thinking that to be the truest, not what later mens fansies hath of themselues

selues deuised, but what the Apostles and their felowes had at Christes hand receyued, and wylleth the same to be knowne and set abrode to all his people. Shall euery man now that listeth and fansieth the same, take in hande vncalled, to be a Minister, and to set forth the same, hauing no authoritie? Naye though the thing were very godlye that were done, yet the person must needes doe yll that enterpriseth it, because he doth a good thing after an yll sort, and loketh but on a little part of dutie considering the thing, and leaueth a great part vnaduised, not considering the person, when as in a well and iustly done matter, not onely these two things ought well to be weighed, but also good occasion of time, & reasonable cause of the doing, ought also much to be set afore euerye doers eyes. Now in this your deede, the maner is vngodlye, the thing vnsufferable, the cause wicked, the person seditious, the time trayterous, and can ye possibly by any honest defence of reason, or any good conscience religiously grounded, denie that this malicious and horrible faulte, so wickedly set on, is not onely

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sinfull afore God, and traiterous to the king, but also deadly & pestilent to the whole common welth of our Countrie, and so not onely ouerflowеth vs with the miserie, but also ouerwhelmeth you with the rage thereof?

Yet further see, and ye be not wearie, with the multitude of miseries, which ye haue marueylously moued, what a yoke ye wylfully doe bring on your selues, in stirring vp this detestable sedition, and so bring your selues into a further slauerye, if ye vse your selues often thus inobediently. When common order of the lawe, can take no place in vnruly and disobedient subiects, and all men will of wylfulnesse resist with rage, & thinke their owne violence to be the best iustice, then be wise Magistrates compelled by necessitie, to seeke an extreme remedie, where meane salues helpe not, and bring in the Martiall lawe, where none other lawe serueth. Then must ye be contented to byde punishment without processe, condemnation without witnesse, suspition is then taken for iudgement, and displeasure maye be iust cause of your execution, and so without fauour ye finde

straitenesse, which without rule seeke violence. Ye thinke it a hard lawe and vnsufferable. It is so in deede, but yet good for a medicine. Desperate sickenesse in phisick must haue desperate remedies, for meane medicines will neuer helpe great griefes. So if ye cast your selues into such sharpe diseases, ye must needes looke for sharpe medicines againe at your Phisitions handes. And worthy ye be to suffer the extremitie in a common welth, which seeke to doe the extremity, and by reason must receiue the like ye offer, and so be contented to byde the ende willingly, which set on the beginning wilfully. For no greater shame can come to the common welth, then that those subiects which should be obedient euen without a lawe, can not be contented to be ordred by the lawe, and by no meanes kept within their dutie, which should euery way offend rather than in their dutie. It is a token that the subiectes lack reason, when they forsake lawe, and thinke other by their multitude to finde pardon, which can not iustly stretch to all, or else by strength to beare the stroke, which can not prosper a-

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gainſt a King. They muſt néedes little conſider themſelues, who bring in this neceſſitie, rather to ſtande to the pleaſure of a mans will, then to abide the reaſon of the law, and to be endaungered more when an other man lyſteth, than when hymſelfe offendeth. And this muſt neceſſarily folow if your rebellion thus continue, and while ye ſéeke to throwe downe the yoke, which ye fanſie your ſelues burdened withall, ye bring your ſelues in a greater bondage, leauing ſafetie and folowing daunger, and putting your ſelues vnder the iuſtice of them, whoſe fauour ye might eaſily haue kept, if ye woulde willingly and dutifully haue ſerued. Now the gentlemen be more in truſt, becauſe the commons be vntruſty, & they gat by ſeruice, which ye loſe by ſtubburneſſe, and therefor muſt néedes if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from the king, becauſe ye would be in leſſe ſubiection to the king, and that as ye will not doe of your ſelues, ye muſt be compelled to doe by others, and that ye refuſe to doe willingly, thinke ye muſt be drawne to doe the ſame conſtraynedly. Which when it com-

meth to passe, as wisedome seeth in your faultes that it must needes, what gaine ye then, or what profite can arise to you by rysing, which might haue found ease in sitting still, and what shall ye be at length the better for this turmoyle, which beside diuers other incommodities rehearsed, shall be thus clogged with the vnsufferable burden of the Partiall lawe.

Yet is there one thing behinde, which me thinketh your selues should not forget, seing that ye haue giuen the cause, ye shoulde duelie loke for the effect. Ye haue spoyled, imprisoned, and threatned gentlemen to death, and that with such hatered of minde, as may not well be borne, the cause thereof I speake not on, which tried will happilye be not so great, but see the thing, set murder a side, it is the heynousest fault to a priuate man. What coulde more spitefully haue bene done againe them, than ye haue vsed with crueltie? Can this doe any other but breede in their stomacks, great grudge of displeasure towarde you, and engender such an hatred as the weaker and the sufferer, must needes

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beare the smart therof. The Kings best kind of gouernment is so to rule his subiects, as a father ordreth his children, and best life of obedient subiectes is one to behaue himselfe to an other, as though they were brethren vnder the King their father. For loue is not the knot onely of the common welth, whereby dyuers partes be perfitely ioyned togither in one politike bodye, but also the strength and might of the same, gathering togither into a small roume with order, which scattered would else breede confusion and debate. Dissention we see in small houses, and thereby may take example to great common welths, how it not onely decayeth them from welth, but also abateth them from strength. Thinke small examples to take place in great matters, and the lyke though not so great to follow in them both, and therby learne to iudge of great things vnknowne, by small things perceyued. When brethren agree not in a house, goeth not the weakest to the walles, and with whome the father taketh part withall, is not he likest to preuaile? Is it not wisedome for the ponger brother, after the good

wyll of the parentes, to seeke his eldest brothers fauour, who vnder them is most able to doe for him: To seeke them both with honestie is wisedome, to lose them both by sullennesse is madnesse. Hath there not beene daylie benefits from the gentlemen to you, in some more and in some lesse, but in none considered, which they haue more friendly offered, than you haue gently requited. Thys must ye lose, when ye will not be thankefull, and learne to gaine new good wyll by desert, when ye forsake the olde friendship vnprouoked. And ye must thinke that liuing in a common welth togither, one kinde hath néede of an other, and yet a great sorte of you more néede of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a great sort of you, and though all be parts of one common welth, yet al be not like worthy partes, but all being vnder obedience, some kinde in more subiection one way, and some kind in more seruice another way. And seeing ye be lesse able by money and liberalitie, to deserue good will than other be, and your onely kinde of desert is to shewe good will, which honest men doe well accept as much

much worth as money, haue ye not much hindered & hurt your selfe herein, losing that one kinde of humanitie which ye haue onely left, and turning it into crueltie which ye ought most to abhorre, not onely because it is wicked of it selfe, but also most noysome to you. I can therefore for my part thinke no lesse herein, but ye must finde some inconuenience herein, if ye folowe your stifnesse still, and must néedes iudge that ye haue wilfully brought on your selues such plagues, as the like could not haue fallen on you, but by your selues. Seing then thus many waies ye haue hurt the common welth of this whole Countrie within, by destruction of shieres, losing of harueſt, wasting of vittayle, decaying of manrode, vndoing of farmers, encreasing of vagabondes, mainteyning of disorder, hindring of redresses, bringing in of Martiall lawe, and bréeding continual hatred amongs diuers states, what thinke ye I praye you, iudge ye not that ye haue committed an odious and detestable crime against the whole cõmon welth, whose furderaunce ye ought to haue tendered by dutie, & not to haue sought

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the hurt thereof wyth your owne dammage.

Beſides all theſe inwarde griefes, which euerye one ſeuerallye muſt nedes feele with miſery, there hapneth ſo many outward miſchaunces, amonge ſtraungers to vs with diſdaine, that if there were nothing ill within the Realme which we ſhould feele, yet the ſhame which doth touche vs from other countries ſhould not onely moue, but alſo compell you hartily to forethinke this your rebellious ſedicion. For what ſhall ſtraungers thinke, when they ſhall heare of the great miſorder, which is in this Realme with ſuch a confuſion, that no order of law can kepe you vnder, but muſt be fayne to be beaten downe with a Kinges power. Shall they not firſt thinke the Kings Maieſtie, in whoſe mind God hath powred ſo muche hope for a childe, as we maye loke for giftes in a man, other for hys age to be litle ſet by, or for lacke of qualities not to be regarded, or for defaulte of loue to be reſiſted, and no notable grace of God in him conſidered, nor the worthyneſſe of his office loked vpon, nor natural obedience due to him remembred. Shall they not nexte ſuppoſe,

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small estimation to be giuen to the rulers, to whō vnder the king we owe due obedience, that cannot in iust and lawfull matters bee heard, nor men to haue that right iudgement of their wisedome, as their iustice in rule, and foresight in counsaile requireth, but rather preferre their owne fansies before others experience, and deeme their owne reason to be cōmon welth, and other mens wisedome to be but dreaminge? Shall they not truly say the subiectes to be more vnfaithfull in disobedience, than other subiects worse ordered be, and licence of libertie to make wilde heades without order, and that they neither haue reason, that vnderstande not the mischiefe of sedition, nor dutie which folowe their beastlynesse, nor loue in them which so little remember the common wealth, nor naturall affection which will daylie seeke their owne destruction? Thus the whole Countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is cast into great shame by your vnrulinesse, and the proceedings of the Countrie, be they neuer so godly shall be yll spoken off, as vnfitte to be brought into vse, and good thinges

hereby that deserueth prayse, shall byde the rebuke of them that list to speake yll, and yll thinges vntouched shall be boldlyer maintey-ned. Nothing may with praise be redressed, where thinges be measured by chaunsable disorder, rather than by necessarie vse, and that is thought most pollitike, that men will be best contented to doe, and not that which men should be brought vnto by duetie. And with what duetie or vertue in ye, can ye quench out of mens memories this foule enterprise, or gather a good report againe to this Realme, who haue so vilely with reproche slaundered the same, and diuersly discredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iust gouernement and ruled order, vsed heretofore in this noble Realme, which is now moste grieuous, bicause it is now most without cause.

If this outwarde opinion, without further inconuenience were all, yet it might well be borne and woulde with ease, decaye that it growe, but it hath not onely hurt vs with voice, but endaungered vs in déede, and cast vs a great deale behinde the hand, where

else we might haue had a ioylie foredeale. For that opportunity of time which seldome chaunceth, and is alwayes to be taken, hath bene by your froward meanes lost this yeare, & so vainlye spent at home for bringing downe of you, which should else profitablye haue bene otherwise bestowed, that it hath bene almost as great a losse to vs abroade, to lacke that we might haue obteyned, as it was combrance at home, to go about the ouerthrows of you, whose sedition is to be abhorred. And we might both conuenientlye haue inuaded some, if they woulde not reasonablye haue growne to some kinde of friendship, and also defended other, which would beside promise, for times sake, vniustly set vpon vs, & easily haue made this stormy time a faire yere vnto vs, if our men had bene so happie at home, as our likelyhode abrode was fortunate. But what is it I pray you, other to let slip such an occasion by negligence, or to stoppe it by stubburnesse which once past awaye, can be by no meanes recouered, no not though with diligence, ye go about to renforse the same againe.

If ye would with wickednesse haue forsaken your faith to your naturall Countrey, and haue sought craftie meanes to haue vtterly betrayed it to our common enimies, could ye haue had any other spædier ways thã this is, both to make our strength weake, and their weakenesse stronge: If ye woulde haue sought to haue spited your Countrie, and to haue pleased your enimie, and folowe their counsaile for our hindraunce, coulde ye haue had deuised of them, any thing more shamefull for vs, and ioyfull to them: If they which lie like spyals, and harken after likelihods of things to come, because they declare opportunitie of times to the enimie, are to be iudged common enimies of the Countrie, what shall we reasonably thinke of you, who doe not secretly bewraie the counsailes of other, but openly betraye the common welth with your owne dædes, and haue as much as lyeth in you, sought the ouerthrowe of it at home, which if ye had obteyned at Gods hande, as he neuer aloweth so horrible an enterprise, how could ye haue defended it from the ouerthrow of other abroade: For is your

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vnderstanding of thinges so small, that although ye see your selues not vnfit, to get the vpperhande of a fewe gentlemen, that ye be able to beate downe afore ye the Kings power, ye and by chaunce ye were able to doe that, would ye iudge your selues by strength mightie ynough, to resist the power of outwarde nations, that for praise sake would inuade ye? May thinke truely with your selues, that if ye doe ouercome, ye be vnsure both by strength abrode, and displeasure of honest men at home, and by the punishment of the God aboue. And now ye haue not yet gotten in deede, that your vaine hope loketh for by fansie, thinke how certainely ye haue wounded the common welth with a sore stroke, in procuring our enimies by our weakenesse to seeke victory, & by our outward misery to seke outwarde glorie, wyth inwarde dishonor, which howsoeuer they get, thinke it to be long of you, who haue offered them victorie, afore they began warre, bicause ye would declare to men hereafter belike, how daungerous it is to make sturres at home, when they doe not onely make our selues weake,

but also our enimies stronge.

Beside these there is another sort of men, desirous of aduauntage, and disdainefull of our welth, whose griefe is most our greatest hap, and be offended with religion, because they be drowned in superstition, men zealed towarde God, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, then they iudge by their meaning, worthier whose ignorance should be taken away, than their will should be folowed, whome we should more rebuke for their stubburnesse, than despise for their ignorauance. These seeing superstition beaten downe, and religion set vp, Gods worde taking place, traditions kept in their kinde, difference made betweene Gods commaundements & mans learning, the truth of things sought out according to Christes institution, examples taken of the Primitiue Churches vse, not at the Bishop of Romes ordinaunce, and true worshipp taught & will worshipp refused, doe by blindnesse rebuke that as by truth they should folow, & by affection folow that as by knowledge they should abhorre, thinking vsage to be truth, & scripture to be errour, not

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swaying by the worde, but misconstruing by custome. And now things be chaunged to the better, and religion truelyer appointed, they see matters go awry, which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioyce in this mischiefe, as a thing worthily happened, mistaking the cause, and slaundering religion, as though there were no cause, why God might haue punished, if their vsed profession might still haue taken place. They see not that where Gods glorie is trulyest set forth, there the deuill is most busie for his part, and laboreth to corrupt by lewdnesse, that as is gotten out by the truth, thinking that if it were not blemished at the first, the residue of his falsehead should after lesse preuaile. So he troubleth by bywayes, ý he cannot plainely withstand, and vseth subtilty of Sophistrie, where plaine reason fayleth, and perswadeth simple men that to be a cause, which in deede cannot be tried and taken for a cause. So he causeth religion which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cause of sedition, and the doctrine of loue, the seede of discention, mistaking the thing, but perswading mens mindes, and abusing

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the plaine meaning of the honest, to a wicked ende of religions ouerthrow. The husbande man had not so sone throwne seede in his grounde, but steppeth vp the enimie and he soweth cockle to, & maketh men doubt, whether the good husbande had done well or no, and whether he had sowne there good sæde or bad. The fansifull Iewes in Egypt woulde not beleue Ieremie, but thought their plague and their miseris to come by his meanes, and leauing of Idolatrie, to be ỳ cause of penury, wherefore by wilfull aduise they entended to forsake the Prophets counsaile, and thought to serue God most truely, by their rooted and accustomed Idolatry. When the Christian menne were persecuted in the Primitiue Church, and daylie suffered Martyrdome for Christes profession, such faire season of weather was for thrée or fower yeare togither, that the heathen iudged therevpon, God to be delighted with their crueltie, and so were perswaded that with the bloud of the Martyrs, they pleased God highlye. Such fansies lighted nowe in Papistes, and irreligious mens heades, and ioyne thinges by

by chaunce happening togither, & concludeth the one to be the cause of the other, and then delighteth in true worshippers hurt, because they iudge cursedly the good to be bad, & therfore reioyseth in the punishment of the godly. For they being fleshly, iudge by outwarde things, and perceiue not the inward, for that they lack the spirite, and so iudge amisse, not vnderstanding God, what diuersitie he sufferreth, to blinde still the wilfull, and how throwe all daungers, he sauyth his forechosen. Thus haue ye giuen a large occasion, to stubburne Papistes both to iudge amisse, and also to reioyce in this wicked chaunce, contented with our mischiefe, not lyking our religion, and thinking God doth punishe for this better chaunge, and haue thereby an yll opinion of Gods holy truth, confirmed in them by no sure scripture, but by folowing of mischance, which they ought to thinke to come, for the pride and stubburnesse of the people, who doth not accept Gods glorie in good part, nor giue no due praise to their Lorde and maker.

What shoulde I saye more? We hurt euerie waye, the daungers be so great, and the

perils so manye, which doe dailye folowe your deuilish enterprise, that the more I seeke in the matter, the more I continuallye see to say. And what wordes can worthily declare this miserable beastlinesse of yours, which haue entended to deuide the Realme, and arme the one part for the killing of the other? For euen as concorde is not onely the helth, but also the strength of the realme, so is sedition not onely the weakenesse, but also the apostheme of the Realme, which when it breaketh inwardlye, putteth the state in great daunger of recouerie, and corrupteth the whole common wealth with the rotten furie, that it hath long putrified with. For it is not in sedition as in other faultes, which being mischieuous of themselues, haue some notable hurt alwayes fast adioyned to them, but in this one is there a whole hell of faults, not seuerallye scattered, but clustered on a lumpe togither, and comming on so thicke, that it is vnpossible for a Region armed with all kinde of wisedome and strength thereto, to auoyde the daungers that issueth out thereof. When sedition once breaketh out,

ſée ye not the lawes ouerthrowne, the Magiſtrates deſpiſed, ſpoyling of houſes, murdering of men, waſtinge of Countries, encreaſe of diſorder, diminyſhinge of the Realmes ſtrength, ſwarming of vagabondes, ſcarſitie of labourers, and thoſe miſchieſes all plenteouſly brought in, which God is wont to ſcurge ſeuerelye with all warre, dearth, & peſtilence: And ſeing ye haue theft and murder, plague and famine, confuſion and ydleneſſe linked togither, can ye loke for any more miſchiefe in one ſhamefull enterpriſe, than ye euidently ſée to growe herein: As for warre although it be miſerable, yet the one part getteth ſomewhat, and reioyceth in the ſpoile, and ſo goth luſtyer awaye, and other encreaſeth his Countrie with riches, or enhanceth himſelfe with glorie, but in ſedition both the partes loſeth, the ouercommed can not flie, the ouercommer can not ſpoyle, the more the winner winneth, the more he loſeth, the more that eſcape, the more infamous men liue, all that is gayned, is ſcarſely ſaued, the winning is loſſe, the loſſe is deſtruction, both waſte themſelues, and

the whole most wasted, the strengthning of themselues, the decay of the country, the striuing for the vsurie, is a pray to the enimie, and shortly to say, the hellish turmoyle of sedition, so farre passeth the common misery of warre, as to slaye himselfe is more haynous, than to be slaine of another. O noble peace, what wealth bringest thou in, howe doth all things flourish in field and in towne, what forwardnesse of religion, what encrease of learning, what grauitie in counsaile, what deuise of witte, what order of maners, what obedience of lawes, what reuerence of states, what safegarde of houses, what quietnesse of life, what honor of Countries, what friendship of mindes, what honestie of pleasure, hast thou alwayes maintained, whose happinesse we knewe not, while now we feele the lacke, and shall learne by miserie, to vnderstande plentie, and so to auoyde mischiefe, by the hurt that it bringeth, and learne to serue better, where rebellion is once knowne, and so to liue truly, and keepe the Kings peace. What good state were ye in afore ye began, not pricked with pouertie, but stirred with mischiefe,

to

to seeke your destruction, hauing wayes to redresse all that was amysse, Magistrates most ready to tender all iustice, and pittifull in hearinge the poore mens causes, which sought to amende matters more than you can deuise, and were readie to redresse them better than ye coulde imagine, and yet for a headinesse ye coulde not be contented, but in despite of God, who commaundeth obedience, and in contempt of the Kynge, whose lawes seeketh your wealth, and to ouerthrow the Countrie, which naturallye we shoulde loue, ye would prowdely rise, and doe ye wot not what, and amende things by rebellion to your vtter vndoing. What state leaue ye vs in nowe, besieged with enimies, deuided at home, made poore with spoyle and losse of our Haruest, vnordered and cast downe with slaughter and hatred, hindered from amendmentes, by our owne deuilishe haste, endaungered with sicknesses, by reason of misorder, layd open to mens pleasures, for breaking of the lawes, and feebled to such faintnesse, that scarsely it will be recouered.

Wherefore for Gods sake, haue pittie on

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your selues, consider how miserably ye haue spoyled, destroyed, & wasted vs all, and if for desperatenesse ye care not for your selues, yet remember your wiues, your children, your Countrie, and forsake this rebellion, with humble submission, acknowledge your faultes, and tarye not the extremitie of the Kinges swoorde, leaue of with repentaunce and turne to your duties, aske God forgiuenesse, submit ye to your King, be contented for a common welth one or two to die, and ye Captaines for ỹ residue sacrifice your selues, ye shall so best attaine the Kinges gracious pardon, saue the assemble and helpe the common welth, and declare your doings to proceede of no stubburnesse, but all this mischiefe to growe out of ignoraunce, which seeing the miserie, would redresse the fault, and so recouer best the blot of your disorder, and stay the great miseries which be like to follow. Thus if ye doe not, thinke truely with your selues, that God is angrie with you for your rebellion, the kings swoorde drawne to defende his Countrie, the crie of the poore to God against ye, the readinesse of the honest

to the Rebell.

in armor to banquishe ye, your death to be at hande, which ye can not escape, hauing God against ye, as hee promiseth in worde, the kings power to ouerthrowe ye, gathered in the fielde, the common welth to beate ye down with stripes and with curses, the shame of your mischiefe to blemishe ye for euer.

God saue the Queene.

¶ Imprinted at London by *Wylliam Seres*, *dwelling at* the vvest ende of Paules Church, at the signe of the Hedgehogge.

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